/16 cont./
two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 456-A) Teklum

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It is in the context of these structural divisions that social change and its behavioral indices must be analyzed.

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Homicide—an act viewed as a delict in national Mexican law—has in the past two decades become an accepted strategy in social interaction. It is part of the expectations of the society upon which members predicate their own code of behavior and in terms of which
[626] they react to others. Gossip not only fails to
[521] suppress homicide, but serves to create a consensual base for condoning it. The corpse is re-
• [764] ferred to as "the one who had the guilt," *?a stukel smul*, and even when knowledge of the particular act is lacking, certain assumptions are made: the killer was someone in the community; the victim provoked the killer. In list-
682 ing crimes, informants sometimes failed to
674 mention killing, or they included it after witch-
[124] craft, theft, or adultery. Homicide is considered a *reaction* to crime, not a crime in itself.

The rate is phenomenally high—up to 251.2 per 100,000 (when adjusted to bring the whole township's population of a little over 3,000 to the base for measuring international rates)—and it is increasing. This compares with national rates of 4.8 for the United States, 31.9 for Mexico (United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1964), and 36.2 for a nearby town (Favre 1964).

The following tabulation summarizes the homicides by decades since 1915, the earliest date for which records are available.

1915–1924	4
1925–1934	5
1935–1944	19
1945–1954	9
1955–1964	35

[114) Figures prior to 1950 are not apt to be accurate, for only since that time have there been adequate reporting and checking of township records. In the following tabulation, the marked increase in the annual number of homicides since 1960 represents a real increase.

1950	1	1958	1
1951	0	1959	1
1952	1	1960	4
1953	1	1961	7
1954	1	1962	6
1955	0	1963	7
1956	1	1964	4
1957	4	1965	9

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In order to assess the meaning of its remarkable increase during the 1960's, I have pro-

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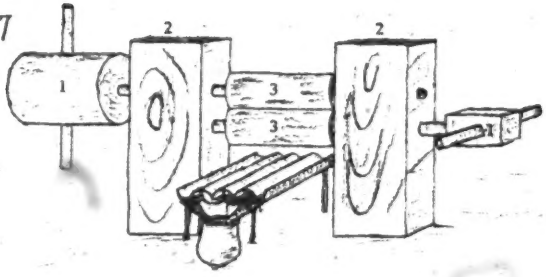

FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial
when the godchild dies, as is expected from
608 the godchild when the godparents die. In
182 these communities, compadrazgo constitutes both an important religious obligation and a means of establishing friendship and cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities whose activities are interrelated. The first group, formed by members of the cabildo and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs of the community. The ayuntamiento maintains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The presidente municipal and the intermediate authorities are popularly elected and then confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both ethnic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to warrant the claim that "justice is equal for everybody." In 1936 the state government ruled that in all municipios where the indigenous population predominates, the presidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P. 219B]

753 776 [794] [888] [613] thunder, wind, or lightning. All the men who occupy or have occupied cargos in the political or religious organization are supposed to have a nagual, as do the older members of the lineage. They consider it their duty to punish those members of the group who have sinned and use their nagual, who can devour the soul of the victim little by little.

774 776 According to this idea, everybody has two souls: one which can be eaten by the naguales, and one which follows the destiny that its patron saint has planned for it. 761 775 776 When death comes, the naguales take away the first soul and have a banquet up in the mountains. In this feast, the naguales of the old people of the clan participate, joined by others induced to comradeship.

761 773 776 It is a widespread belief that at midyear the naguales go to a place in heaven called Atimaltik, where an old man who possesses the Book of Life lives. Since in this book he keeps account of the time each person can live, it is a source of information for the naguales, who thus can know who is close to death. When the signature of a person disappears from the book, this means that the person died.

• 764 People have to keep watch over the body for two days and two nights. It is placed on a wooden plank in the middle of the house after being washed or just given a change of clothes. Two candles are placed at the head. At night friends and neighbors come to keep company with the family. They play harp and guitar and drink chicha and aguardiente. At dawn, the men go home and the women remain crying near the corpse.

[613] [184] Following the ancient custom, the dead are buried near the graves of other men of the same lineage. In Cancuc, however, dead are buried inside the house.

The bottom and sides of the grave are covered with slabs to form a coffin. The corpse, bundled up in a petate, is placed inside. His clothes and other articles he may

[P 224-B]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 need in the afterlife are placed with him: a comb, a bowl, a bottle with water to dissolve the posol, a needle and thread, and, if a man, aguardiente.

The arms of the dead are crossed over the chest and a rosary (*uenteshil*) is put be-

[text continues top of p. 225-B]

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[References continue on middle of p. 225-B]

[p. 225-A]

764 tween his hands. The head is always placed to the west. During the following days, prayers are said to the memory of the dead. [768] [775] Sometimes the house is evacuated because people are afraid of the soul who remains saying goodbye to friends and relatives.

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Nash, J., 1959
Paniagua, 1876
Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939
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Tax, 1937
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Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947
Vogt, 1964e

[P. 225-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with
[171] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied
[123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl.

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat.

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantaiy-el tca-vinik,* "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan k'in,* "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the 777 religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda, 1888, Page 77.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources.

273* 753 Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used [D64] to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. [128] After a brief description of the "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

273* 955 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

273* 764 serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273* 539 764

M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.
When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.
We went as night was coming, about seven at night.
WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HONA.
It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.
Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.
We gave everybody a little bit.

*273
539
• 764

LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

[764] [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [293] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat?o?tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve himself of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers assures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."

The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."

If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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square. Although this conception is contradicted by knowledge learned in school, the two concepts are not brought into direct opposition. The town still defines the outer limit of most meaningful social relations, and most people are not forced by the circumstances of their lives to deal with an understanding of the world as round. It is enough that the four "sides" of their village be protected by crosses at the points of entry. The important orientation points are the east, referred to as the "coming out of the sun," and the west, referred to as "the sleeping place of the sun." North and south are referred to as lowland and highland because of the topography. Compass orientation is important behaviorally only at death. The body of the deceased is laid out in the cemetery with the head to the east. Indians comment that the Ladinos lay the body out with the head to the west, but Indians of other towns, such as Zinacantan, also do so. The cemetery is located on the western side of the town.

The House

The reference to the house in prayer as "the entry to suffering, inside the poverty" suggests the "cult of poverty" which Wolf (1955:459) points out as characteristic of closed corporate Indian communities. Most people conform to a standard house size of five square meters subdivided into an interior sleeping and living area and a porch (Fig. 8). The walls are made of mud strengthened with lime packed in a framework of poles supported on nine main posts. The roofs are pitched with four sheds rising steeply to a truncated ridge. Tiles are used in most new houses to cover the roof, but there are still many thatched palm or wooden shingle roofs. Corn and beans are stored in the rafters under the eaves of the house.

Inside the house, beds line the two side walls. If there is no cooking shack separate from the house, the hearth is placed in the center of the interior room. The grinding stone, raised on three posts, is placed to the left of the center post.

The porch is the area for ceremonial gatherings and for making and storing pottery. A table with the pictures of household saints set against the inside wall, is adorned with flowers and candles. During house fiestas, men sit on the benches lining the four walls of the porch, while the women sit inside in a semicircle.

592 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place
764 in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

592 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas
241 is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos
184 de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

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432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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591 The fission of the compound household into nuclear house-
578 holds is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as
464 long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic
562 asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Aguacatenango

121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinality) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

182 796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

[571] [527] [764] [602] [241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.

000 Within the same cultural frame, two social groups can